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The Christian Socialist

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DO PREACHERS EVADE THE LIVING QUESTIONS?

BY CHRISTOPHER RUESS, MINISTER AT FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH, ALAMEDA, CAL.

My text is an editorial in a recent "Christain Register" on "The Future of the Church." The Register is a conservative national Unitarian weekly, and that this editorial should have been given space is both strange and promising. "The Church," says the editorial, "grew up out of poverty, social contempt and ostracism among a class of slaves and poor freedmen despised by the rich people of paganism and for centuries considered beneath contempt and absolutely negligible. We see to-day how in the long course of ages it has conquered and is now the stronghold of the rich and prosperous, while the poor and despised have left it to so great a degree we may say a new vision of the Messiah is needed to lead the humble and lowly again to the feet of the consoler and comforter. This is no fancy picture. It is more deeply embedded in the hearts of both clergy and laity than we are perhaps aware. The fact is patent that large and ever-increasing classes can in our day live without the church nor feel the need of its consolations."

Like a soliloquy in Shakespeare, this editorial tells the hidden truth. The editorial practically admits three threatening facts. First, that both the common people and the best spirits of the time have little use or regard for the church of to-day. Second, that the devotion and self-sacrificing martyr-spirit of the day more and more find their outlet in social settlement and organized charity work and in the socialistic crusade, and less and less in the ministry of the churches. Third, that the very continuance of the church is conditional upon its meeting the present crisis and allying itself with the very elements which are now forsaking it, "because," to quote again, "they are dissatisfied with its teachings, or too deeply reiglious to continue their worship."

WHY THE CHURCH HAS LASTED

The church has had three reasons for being and continuing. First, it has ministered to man's incurably religious nature by affording a stimulus and satisfaction of the sense of God and the need of worship and prayer to the human heart. In the next place, it has been of moral utility; it has indoctrinated the young and has confirmed in the old those moral maxims which the experience of centuries has proved, which we cannot each. like barbarians, learn for ourselves, and without obeying which human lives are little above the level of the beasts. In the third place, the church has meant hope to men, besides worship and moral utility. Only on that account should I be in the ministry. To many it has meant the hope of heaven and salvation from hell, though, since hell and heaven have been discovered on earth in the present life, the hope of the old heaven has vanished with the fear of the old hell.

WILL THE CHURCH REDEEM SOCIETY?

My own hope and I trust yours, is a social hope, a vision of a redeemed and perfect society in which the golden rule and Jesus' law of love can be practiced without asceticism, monasticism, or the present day martyrdom of poverty. Jesus himself believed that the Kingdom of God was to be established on earth at his second coming in glory, but even his followers long ago for the most part gave up that unfulfilled hope. The church has rather preached that this earth-life must be endured, cruel, unjust and intolerable as it is. but that there will be a heaven hereafter.

But our hope to-day is for a heaven established on earth where righteousness can be practiced as well as preached, where ideals shall not be pooh-poohed by the wise and disappointed as mere dreams, where the poor shall not always be with us, and where equal opportunity shall be a fact and not merely a Fourth of July boast.

Dr. Spahr's "Present Distribution of Wealth" shows that to-day in this country one-eighth of the families hold seven-eighths of the wealth, and that one per cent, or 125,000 families with estates of $50,000 or over, hold half the wealth of the nation, or more than the other ninety-nine per cent together. Five and a half million out of twelve and a half million families in 1896 had an average wealth of $150, none of these families had more than $500, and together they had less than one billion of the sixty-four billion dollars national wealth. These are not Christian conditions. In 1903 in New York city more than half of the children of fourteen years were receiving no education in the schools, and more than one-fourth of those of thirteen did not go to school. This is a mockery of our boasted equality of opportunity.

THE PULPIT AND SOCIALISM

A year and eight months ago, before I received a call to this pulpit through the trustees of the church, I felt it my honest duty to inform them that I considered the present social order hopelessly anti-Christian and that I looked to its complete reconstruction on a basis of brotherhood or socialism. I said at that time as I say now, that the political aspect of socialism has no place in the pulpit. But the moral aspect of socialism does have a place in the pulpit, and from this day on, whenever occasion shall demand, I shall with no more hesitation reveal frankly whither I face and whither I think the church of God must face if ever the poor are to love the church again, and if ever the church again shall claim the love and devotion of those who at any cost will establish heaven on earth.

Again and again have I been told by business men that only the wage earner can afford to practice the golden rule, that the employer and investor who confuse Christian brotherhood with business dealings must fail, that business is irredeemably merciless, suspicious and selfish. The minister who stands as defendant of the present social order has no answer but silence to these plain facts. Again and again do I hear of promising young men deprived of the opportunity of an education which might make them leaders of the people, because at sixteen or seventeen making money must become the purpose of their lives.

Again and again do I hear of this man kept from the ministry or from teaching or removing himself from these great professions of service because he cannot afford to pay their heavy price of poverty. And then men talk of freedom to choose one's occupation in the present social order!

Until the social order is so made over that men may spend their lives on some higher plane than that of money making and themselves for something better than bread and butter, it will be folly for ministers to expect the ethics of Christianity to be seriously heard. The price of living by the golden rule, of being true to high ideals to-day is almost certain poverty. A social order of which this can be truly said is radically wrong.

WILL THE CHURCH CRUCIFY THE CHRIST AFRESH?

In short, the church faces a crisis. It must dare to show where it stands. It must preach more than the beggarly rudiments of idealism. What we need is not charity so much as justice. When justice is done there will be no need of charity. We need to-day not only individual but social righteousness. It is not enough to be a good father, husband, neighbor. A man must be an honest office holder; he must carry on his business on a golden rule basis, *or at least atone for his iniquity by trying to end the system which forces him to do otherwise.*

The cry of the time is not for the reformation of society, not for patches and poultices, but it is for social transformation, the re-establishment of human society on a moral basis.

"Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her wretched crust.
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just;
Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside,
Doubting in his abject spirit, till his Lord is crucified,
And the multitude makes virtue of the faith they had denied."

We would not spend our days and years in selfish enjoyment simply of that which others have wrought out for us. Remembering that the world is not yet fully redeemed, that the spirit of brotherhood and self-renouncing love is the only cure for its trouble and unrest, we, too, would join the noble fellowship, and keep faith in our day with these high principles, with this redeeming love—Rudolph Freeman.

THE CAPITALIST CHRIST

BY RALPH KORNGOLD

Let the children come unto me,
I have builded them a mill;
Let the children come unto me,
Working is a blessing still.

I will give them sound employment,
(Fourteen hours in a day);
Let the children come unto me,
Ten bright pennies will I pay.

O, you base and shameless worker,
With your fancies rash and wild,
I will pray that God Almighty
Make you as a little child!

Let bread to feed the hungry go before
The Missionary to a foreign shore.
Think not to win the love of heathen brother
With Bible in one hand, sword in the other.
—Milton Jenness.

The Russian Revolution III

That a wide-spread, deep and powerful revolution is on in Russia no one can doubt. It is worthy of particular notice that while certain capitalist papers attempt to belittle the revolution in their editorial columns, and seek to leave the impression that the movement is weak, unorganized and anarchistic, their news columns report that the Railway Union, the Jewish Bund, the Peasants' Union, the Council of Workmen, the Union of Unions, and the Revolutionary Committee are all acting in harmony, and that no general strikes in any other country ever so completely tied up a nation and cut it off from the rest of the world. Also the unions of professional men and the Zemstvo itself are standing squarely for the main demands of the revolutionists, namely, a universal, secret ballot and a regular constitutional government.

It is surely a great national awakening; and there can be no doubt that comparatively soon Russia will take her place among the constitutional governments, probably as a socialist commonwealth; for, as the editor of the Independent remarks, the only propaganda for freedom that Russia ever knew is that of socialism, which has been carried on incessantly for more than thirty years. And as the railroads, liquor business, etc., are already government monopolies, and as such are already shown to be of no use to the people, it is not likely that any radical compromise, or public ownership party can ever make any headway there.

Perhaps the most significant phase of the Russian situation is the manner in which the Tzar attempted to conciliate the people by promise of constitutional assembly. This proves that he and his advisors regard the revolution as a momentous movement. But when he found the people unwilling to compromise, he rescinded his most liberal propositions, and is now striving with the powerful aid of Count Witte, to save the autocracy itself. His plan of the douma, to be elected by a small number of the upper classes and to have no real authority at all—its functions purely advisory—is an insult to the Russian people and will be resisted unceasingly. The Zemstvo, with actual legislative powers, and elected by universal, secret ballot, is the least the revolutionists will accept; for the wage-earners and peasants of Russia seem done with political despotism, and the constitutional assembly would place them in control. Socialism would ultimately follow, for we have already seen that the Russians are, by ideal and custom, the most democratic people on earth.

The rebel soldiers at Vladivostock seem to have gained a victory, forcing the withdrawal of the Cossacks, and compelling an armed truce, in which they hold the great fortress of the Holy Innocents. If this Manchurian army should conclude to free Siberia from Russian domination, the exiles would thus obtain a joyful revenge for their long and indescribable sufferings, and a safe base of military operations would be secured. And wherever the revolutionary forces succeed in making a stand and establish headquarters, the heroic lovers of freedom from all countries will rush to the rescue and augment their army.

One phase of the revolution which shocks and discourages the Western mind is the frequent assassinations of government officials who have shown such frightful inhumanity in their treatment of captives and of the people in general. We must simply remember, 1st, that the Russian people can not vote. They must force concessions anyway they can. 2nd, a state of war is on, and the assassination of rulers and generals is as legitimate as to ambush an army or surprise a fortress. 3rd, these generals and rulers are attacked ofter a formal condemnation by the revolutionary committees who have as much moral right as any court martial. After the wholesale murder of the unarmed innocents on "Bloody Sunday," and the repeated massacre of the Jews, who could blame the Russian or Jew that would kill the Tzar? It is rank hypocrisy to overlook the wholesale, crimson crimes of the Tzar and his minions, and then affect horror when one of these monsters meets his just doom at the hands of the very ones who have the best right to mete it out. If there were justice in Russia, multitudes of these red-handed murderers would be executed with legal formality.

Doubtless "war is hell," and there are devils on both sides; but let no man who pretends to love human liberty and justice shut his eyes to the immeasurable and cowardly crimes of the Russian autocracy, and then distend them in mock horror at the deed of a patriot who gives his own life to rid the world of a bloody tyrant. As long as oppression lasts such things will be, especially where the people have no ballot.

I can not deny the sublime truth of Christ's notable command: "**Resist Not Evil.**" I know that early Christianity and later Behaism conquered by dying; and my heart aches for the end of war. I believe that if the socialists of the world would adopt the method of truth, love and martyrdom alone, and prove true to it, they would conquer gloriously; but the age of strikes and war is not yet past, and we must not condemn one side and excuse the more guilty.

The courage and martyrdom of the Russian patriots for a generation is unequaled since the early Christian movement. It is the most glorious event of modern times. They have raised a nation from the dead; they have brought confusion to the cruelest, bloodiest despotism on earth; they have sowed the seeds of freedom and brotherhood in their own blood, and watered it with their own tears in prison and exile; they are leading the people forward into a bright and blessed future. Their self-sacrifice and heroism inspires the world.

And their cause is our cause. The **world** can not exist "half slave and half free." No people is yet free, and none can obtain and maintain a selfish freedom. The more advanced nations are kept down by the most backward. The weaker, inferior peoples tempt the strong to martial and commercial pillage and so drag and hold them back till all can rise together. Humanity is a sea which, however temporarily affected by wind and tide, always finds its own level. It is an **organism,** the health of each part depending upon the health of all. The oppressed peoples of Russia, Italy, Greece, Syria and China, are fleeing to our shores and the future American can never be what he would have been if these countries had afforded safe asylums for their people fifty years ago. Let us help to free Russia for the Russians, Italy for the Italians, Syria for the Syrians, and China for the Chinese. Only so can we free America for the Americans.

More important still, their cause is the cause of Justice. No true man or woman can ignore their wrongs and refuse his sympathy and assistance. Every man who understands the Russian, Polish or Tartar tongue, who can possibly do so, should go and throw himself into the respective part of this great revolution. Those of us who can not go should give our money to help sustain our brothers in the strife. To those who glory in the traditions of our own revolution, and our strife against slavery, the appeal is tremendous and profound. Let us do our best to support these heroes of humanity while they perform their titanic task.

"How canst thou sleep when 'round the world are falling
Thy comrades true thro' tyrant's greedy sway?
Thy brother's blood is loudly calling,—
The power is thine,—the call obey;
Thy brother's blood is loudly calling,—
Awake and act, be men today!"

—E. E. C.

THE MILWAUKEE SOCIALIST FAIR.

If we had more space, we should like to quote in full an article on the Social-Democratic fair, which appeared in the Free Press (Republican), a paper decidedly hostile to us. "Those who have heard for years," says the Free Press, "the efforts of Social-Democratic orators and organizers to make the working classes class-conscious, those who have seen the organization grow steadily from a mere handful of agitators to one which has broken into the city council, the county board, and the state legislature, are willing to admit that the Social-Democratic party is a movement to be reckoned with—an adversary worthy of any political foeman's steel. The people who attended the fair were the intelligent laboring men, their wives, their sons and daughters. They were well behaved. There was an air of wholesomeness about the event from the opening to the closing of the doors. There was personal liberty, but there was no license. The methods of the Social-Democrats are marvels. Apparently one of the first efforts is that the Social-Democratic party shall furnish the amusements, the recreation, the society, and the opportunity for self-improvement to all the members and their families. The Social-Democrats have their own singing societies, they have their own turning societies, they have their own dances, conducted by each of the thirty-nine branches of the party in various parts of the city. The effect of all this was to be seen at the Social-Democratic fair. Each night a different singing society, composed of men, furnished a programme of vocal music for the fair. And it was good music, such as you would expect from any one of the many German Maennerchors of Milwaukee in which from twenty to thirty male voices are to be heard. Each night a different class from some of the turning societies was on the programme to give exhibitions in gymnasium work. There was a minstrel show, almost in continual performance. And in all these thousands of people took part. Reflecting how friendships are made and what a powerful factor the social element is in binding people together, one stops in wide-eyed wonder to contemplate where this movement will end. Surely, it bears evidence of making its adherents class conscious. But there is still a stronger bond than any of these features make. There is the element of self-sacrifice, apparently gladly made, which goes far to creating intelligent zeal and arousing the kind of enthusiasm which bears fruit. Without dwelling long on the picture which comes to the mind of the sacrifices that make the array of booths and needle-work possible, one is particularly impressed by the pride each member of the party expresses at the fact that the Social-Democratic party does not engage in the humiliating and "degrading" performance of touching up the business men, the manufacturing interests, nor appealing to any of the men with money, in order to raise funds with which to conduct its campaign. Any Socialist will smile proudly with an air of independence which amounts almost to defiance, as he tells you that the party "is not under obligation to anybody outside of the party, and that it will be

(*Continued on Page 3*)

To give him leave to toil;
And see his lordly fellow-worm
The poor petition spurn,
Unmindful, though a weeping wife
And helpless offspring mourn.
So abject, mean and vile,
Who begs a brother of the earth
See yonder poor, o'erlabored wight
—Robert Burns.

Farewell to Minnesota

(Editorial Itinerary).

Owing to the Illinois State Convention being fixed for May 5, which made my plan to go east during April and May unfeasible, it was needful to get excused from the Wisconsin campaign and shorten the Minnesota trip somewhat in order to start east March 1, returning in time for the State Convention.

Fortunately Rev. Winfield R. Gaylord returned from the south in time to take up my Wisconsin route and the Committee was able to release me without inconvenience, for which I am deeply grateful; although it is with immense regret that I surrender the glory of assisting in the (some-time-to-be-historic) campaign for Socialism in Wisconsin this Spring, as the comrades there are about to win a triumph unprecedented in American Socialism.

The last days in Minnesota were very pleasant, including return dates at Hibbing, Two Harbors, Wrenshall and Bradford. I shall ever remember the affectionate courtesy of the comrades at many points. They have made me feel sure of accepting their general invitation to return for a longer campaign in that State, if life and health are granted, within the next few years.

The State Secretary writes that eight different places claimed my last Sunday in the State, including both St. Paul and Minneapolis, at each of which I had already given three addresses. He further gave assurance that it would be easier in future to secure three dates for me in that State than it was to get one before. All of which touches my heart and fills my farewell to Minnesota with strong regret, in spite of the gladness of coming home from a fifty-two days absence.

The strength of the movement in Minnesota is greater than is generally supposed. Many towns, villages and country districts are organized and everywhere there is more or less interest, even where no organization has been formed. Among Finns, Swedes, Germans, Americans,—everywhere an expectancy is in the air, a sense of coming change affects the people, and many of them are studying Socialism. This is true of all classes, workmen, merchants, doctors, lawyers, preachers and farmers.

During my last days there I heard a Methodist pastor say in his pulpit: "**Jesus was a Socialist; and if He were among us now He would be despised, hated, persecuted and shut out of most of the churches named after Him.**" Also a Presbyterian minister gave himself to the cause, and another Congregational pastor saw the light. Ah, the hearts of the preachers are in the right place; and if we will only take the pains to show them what Socialism is, and that it does not imply either Atheism or free-love, they will rally to our standard and help us proclaim the "Good News to the Poor" as no other class of men can.

Comrades, stir the preachers up. Present Socialism in its threefold aspect—economic, moral, spiritual—and they will respond. Put copies of **The Christian Socialist** in their hands and get them to subscribe. Give them a list of the best Socialist books, especially Vail's and Mills', and **loan** them books occasionally. Win the preachers and teachers and they will rapidly educate the people in the right way.

The **personnel** of the Minnesota movement seems to me full of promise. Comrade Holman, National Committeeman, just re-elected, is certainly an able man and well respected. I was sorry not to have an opportunity to know him better. Comrade Peach, the other National Committeeman, is a bright, keen, studious man, thoroughly class-conscious and loyal to the movement. Comrade Loftus is a man of growing influence, good timber for almost anything, who will be heard from in the future. At St. Paul Comrade Miller and others ahe guiding the ship successfully through the breakers, while at Minneapolis Comrades Rogers, Ostrander, Dr. Dight and many other loyal ones are doing excellent and inspiring work. And as for Secretary Nash, I do not believe there is a more loyal and self-sacrificing Socialist anywhere. It is doubtful if as capable and faithful a State Secretary could be obtained for double the salary he requires.

The report of the State Convention at Minneapolis has not yet reached me, and there were grave difficulties to face, but, whatever the immediate results of the Convention, I am sure of the future of the Socialist movement in Minnesota, because of the many able, well-grounded and loyal comrades I have met there. —E. E. C.

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The Gospel of Corporate Man

BY PETER E. BURROWES

II. MONEY AND SOCIALISM

24. Among the twelve, Judas was the apostle of big personality; he believed more than the others in the immediate personal reign of Christ. Therefore he had found a place for himself as finance minister in the new kingdom. When Jesus looked on calmly at the destruction of the alabaster box, and the waste of money's worth of ointment, the heart of the minister of finance was turned to hatred. When Jesus there and then told them there was to be no kingdom, and that the woman had anointed him for burial, the minister of finance made haste to bull the market and sell out the world's salvation. The ministers of finance are today selling out the divine life and betraying it for the cost of that alabaster box. The kingdoms of the present world are the kingdoms of Iscariot; his armies, his fleets, his free trade and his subsidized trade; his Democratic and his Republican parties, his Catholic and Protestant churches.

25. Is it true that there is any spiritual life which can be nourished and made a beauty and power in the world from sources ex-money? If it is not true, then God himself has consecrated money and all property to the common use, and stamped the word SOCIALISM on every step to heaven. If, on the other hand, it is declared by the churches that their foundations and their sources of strength are in heaven, and the gifts of the Holy Ghost are all without money and without price, *let them prove their faith by throwing off the bondage of the dollar and come out for a gospel without money and without price.* But money *is* holy; it represents human life; heaven must be bought with it, and woe to them who rob the world of the means of paying their way to heaven.

26. They who are today manifesting that money is the summum bonum of the world, are hastening our march to socialism. When the masses begin to realize this, money will become a sacrament. Then the people will rise up and seize the sacraments or be damned.

27. The class struggle on the capitalists' side can be maintained without offensive epithets; it merely means to them reduction of expenditure. On the other hand the laborers' side cannot be fought but by possessing the law-making powers.

28. Socialism is an organization of thinkers who are seeking to extricate themselves, collectively, from capitalism.

29. Socialism must be a movement of the persons engaged in it for the possession of the public powers. Anything less than this does not mean extrication from capitalism.

30. The socialist thinker deliberately takes his stand as the champion of the class unrepresented in the intellectual world. He stands there frankly admitting that as an egoist he should be on the other side where the property is, but as a progressivist he confesses his faith in God as the God of the people only, that there can be no progress of separate individual or class, that they who enter the fold of culture or spiritual life any other way than this are thieves and robbers.

31. Hence the socialist is not so much a thinker as a maker of public highways for collective thought, in laws of good habit, organized justice and fellowship.

32. *Ab initio* all labor is social, and all its product—wealth, money, farms, or otherwise—is social. Whatsoever there is of it which is not social is stolen or perverted. All property belongs to society as a collective unit, just as surely as that all of a man belongs to God; and a man's surrender of himself to God is of the same nature and for the same purpose as the surrender of private property to the social life.

33. As a man seeks to be like the son of God so should a city seek to be like that city, son of heaven, which descended and was called New Jerusalem. We should seek to make every controllable thing in the city speak a hint of socialism.

(To be continued)

The Milwaukee Socialist Fair

(*Continued from Page 2*)

free and untrammeled to do that which it believes to be right without fear of embarrassing pressure from the outside." And this very thought seems to be nothing more than an emphatic expression of a greater feeling of class-consciousness, which the leaders have been preaching and striving for since the organization was in swaddling clothes. The efforts to supply the amusement, the entertainment, the social life, the opportunities for self-improvement, mental and physical, together with the opportunity for the widow, the orphan and the most humble of individuals to contribute their mites, are all, apparently, component parts of the greater plan and effort to make the members of the party class-conscious, teach them independence. An organization which looks after the morals of its members, by teaching the younger generations virtue, temperance and self-control, as well as self-sacrifice, is one which differs so materially from all other political movements, that it is worthy of study and consideration at least.

E. H. THOMAS,
State Secretary.

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FOR STRENGTH'S SAKE

BY EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLTZ

I saw the city of Comradely Love come upon earth,
And gladness above the sum of all the agonies of all the ages of oppression gave me utterance.
O City of my hopes, how have I longed for thee!

Some of the statements of Peter E. Burrowes (in the second part of his "Gospel of Corporate Man" in this issue) will startle and sting. Read thoughtfully and fairly. Be sure to get his exact meaning. And remember that no man is an absolute authority. "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

To Any Y. M. C. A. Reader

A friend last year paid a year's subscription for "The Christian Socialist" to be sent to the Y. M. C. A. reading rooms throughout the United States and Canada. The subscription will soon expire, and the friend would like to renew it on behalf of every place where the paper has even one reader. Please, therefore as soon as you have read this notice, mail a postal card to "The Christian Socialist" stating that the paper is read in your place. It is not necessary even for you to sign your name, although we should be glad if you would do so.

By the way, why did not President Roosevelt address his appeal to the operators as well as the miners? Does he expect the miners to yield and not the operators?

By immediately proceeding against the railroads when their annual passes were refused, the members of several state legislatures have confessed, what has been charged for many years, that they were accepting the passes as a bribe in the interest of the railroads.

"Jesus and the first Christians had the courage to speak the whole truth, as well as to scourge injustice; this is what we, as Christian Socialists, are doing and must continue to do, and not to speak in a way to please others. I find great joy and encouragement for carrying on the work in the very fact that the world is now speaking of us just as they spoke of the first christians. 'These that have turned the world upside down have come hither also.' 'As for this sect, it is everywhere spoken against.' 'These men do exceedingly trouble our city, and teach customs which are not lawful for us to receive' etc, etc."—From a letter by John Leypoldt.

That some of the preachers are not intimidated by their churches is proven by the conduct of Rev. Aaron Noll of McKeesport, Pa., whose name heads the list of those who circularize the city urging people to vote the socialist ticket.

MINISTERS CONDEMN THE JUDGE

The Methodist Episcopal Ministers' Association of Chicago has *unanimously* condemned Judge Holdom's infamous injunction forbidding union printers to write or speak to non-union men with the purpose of persuading them to join the union. This action of the ministers startled all Chicago and thrills all thoughtful people with a sense of the coming struggle in which the preachers will not only demand free speech for printers, but for themselves, and will place themselves unequivocally and heroically on the side of the people against their masters where Jesus placed himself long, long ago.

When these ministers learn of the disgraceful conduct of their Book Concern (as reported in another column) they will doubtless engage in more strenuous condemnation proceedings.

Typographical Union No. 6 of New York City has respectfully referred the Book Concern, the Ministers and Members of the M. E. Church to the following scriptures:

"Thou shalt not oppress an hired servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren or of the strangers that are in thy land."

"Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard."

"No man can serve two masters. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon."

"HE THAT WALKETH UPRIGHTLY WALKETH SURELY; BUT HE THAT PERVERTETH HIS WAYS SHALL BE KNOWN."

AT CHURCH

Last Sunday I went to Church. The New Testament reading was one of Jesus' discourses, and the priest ended, in emphatic tones, with those solemn and inevadable words,—

"No man can serve two masters. *Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.*"

In that sentence I seemed to hear the doom of the church pronounced by herself. For certainly the church does serve Mammon; her silent weight is thrown with Commercialism in the crushing of Labor. The money power knows she is effectively its ally; so do the forces of labor. Every one knows which side she is on, except herself.

But, she seems to say, I serve God; I teach purity and reverence and charity. Ah, but listen to the sentence of your own infallible Teacher—"Ye *cannot* serve God *and* Mammon". The church does serve Mammon, hence she does not serve God,—all her effort to serve God but helps her Mammon-service. The church is doomed by Jesus himself.

All this seemed to me contained in those summoning fateful words. The next instant we knelt to hear the sacred Commandments and to plead for grace to keep them:

"Thou shalt have none other gods but me".

A commandment broken by the church which proclaims it; she serves another god.

"Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image".

What else is the Almighty Dollar, to serve which the church stoops from her high calling?

"Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain".

How could that name be more taken in vain, than by serving Mammon while naming God?

"Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day".

The exploiters of labor may or may not avail of their own divinely appointed resting time; certainly the tribute they take leaves little rest to the laboring part of mankind, to millions no refreshing rest.

"Honor thy father and thy mother".

How does commercialism reverence the aged worker? The paupers' graveyard tells the story, and the countless homes where the broken-down live on, miserable in the feeling of being a burden.

"Thou shalt do no murder".

It is not only the register of the slain in the wars of commerce's causing, and the roll of the dead from preventable accidents, which arise to meet these words; but the unlisted slowly slain in tenement house, and in foul factory.

"Thou shalt not commit adultery".

Commercialism breaks up the family, both among the most successful and the least successful—the wealthy and the hard-pushed poor.

"Thou shalt not steal".

Whose money is that which you, kneeling here, are about to put upon the plate? From whose labor has it been extracted?

"Thou shalt not covet".

But the first condition of success in business is the fixed determination to "make money", which means to get what another has.

These were strange responses, and, as I came out from the church, I wondered whether it is not foolish to take the words of that Old Book so seriously as the Christian Socialists do.—R. W. W.

"Socialism," says Edwin Arnold Brenholtz, "should draw a man closer to his Creator, not cause him to ignore Him."

A STARTLING REVELATION FOR THE METHODIST CHURCH

The Book Concern Reported Engaged in Printing Innumerable Whisky Advertisements and Obscene Writings

New York Printers' Union Lays Specific Evidence Before the Ministers and Church at Large. Will Doubtless Cause a Sensational Investigation

Dear Brother:—On January 2, 1906, some fifty members of Typograpical Union No. 6, employed in the Methodist Book Concern, in this city, were locked out by the publishing agents, Revs. Eaton & Mains, because they had requested that their hours of labor be reduced from fifty-four to forty-eight hours per week. Most of these men had been employed in this establishment for ten and fifteen years, some of them almost half a century. Nearly all had families to support, and it is hardly necessary to dwell on the hardships inflicted by the action of the publishing agents.

Had the Methodist Book Concern acted independently in the matter there would be less ground for criticism. But the facts are that for a number of years Messrs. Eaton & Mains have been members of the Typothetae of the City of New York, an organization of employing printers, which last year began the collection of a fund for the avowed purpose of waging war on the Printers' Union.

It seems strange that of all the religious printing establishments in this city employing members of our Union the Methodist Book Concern is the only one which refuses to grant the shorter workday. Among the more than two hundred employers who have conceded the request are the publishers of "The Churchman," "The Christian Herald," "The Catholic News," "The Volunteer Gazette," "The War Cry" and the American Bible Society.

The publishers of "The Christian Advocate" are found associated with the publishers of "Town Topics," ostensibly fighting for the "open shop," but in reality against the shorter workday. "Town Topics" and other notorious Mann publications, are printed by William Green, president of the Typothetae.

We feel safe in saying that the publishing agents would not have taken this determined stand against the Union if they had not been advised so to do by the Local Book Committee. This committee is composed of three wealthy laymen residing in the vicinity of New York. Naturally, they are not in sympathy with the labor organizations. **Is it not possible that these men are allowing their personal prejudices to govern their actions without regard to the merits of the case? Are they not taking advantage of this opportunity to wage their warfare on the Unions with the church's ammunition?** The agents have declared that they did not care what it cost to defeat the eight-hour movement, and that they would continue fighting even if every other house in the city surrendered. In the announcement posted in the composing rooms it is stated that, owing to the refusal of Typographical Union No. 6 to renew the agreement of last year, they take this means of declaring that on and after January 2, 1906, this office will be conducted as an open shop on a fifty-four hour basis. The "agreement of last year" called for a "closed shop" and fifty-four hours. **The agents were willing to sign for that.** Yet, they insist in declaring that they are fighting for the "open shop!"

The purpose of the founding of the Methodist Book Concern was the furnishing of good literature to the membership at prices within the reach of all, the profits of the business to go to the support of the wornout preachers. The committee has in hand a few samples of the "good literature" which the Concern turns out in order to increase its dividends. One is the "Story of the Riot" among the negroes in New York in the summer of 1900. The book is full of such vile language that no newspaper would be guilty of having it printed in its columns. Even though the purpose of the book was to secure justice for the negro, such profanity as is quoted in the affidavits should not be put in print. Another choice sample of good literature from the presses of the Book Concern is a pamphlet entitled "Record of Events," a miscellaneous collection of police court news, prize fights, etc. The introduction states that the contents of the book "are of importance to all who desire such information." Among the items is a list containing the names and location of the dives of New York—**furnished for the benefit of those who "desire such information"!** Although warned of the nature of the contents of the book, the junior agent allowed it to go to press. Evidently there was complaint from some source later on, for thousands of copies of the book, which retailed for twenty-five cents, were destroyed, and a new edition, retailing for only ten cents, was issued, minus the objectionable list of dives. It is true that the imprint of the Book Concern does not appear on these books, but how can the agents reconcile their willingness to print such stuff with the command to "avoid the very appearance of evil?"

We are convinced that the great majority of the clergy and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church will not indorse the action of the Revs. Eaton & Mains in locking out their old employes, nor do we believe they will approve of their agents permitting the printing plant being used to further the sale of certain brands of whiskey, cocktails, etc., advertisements and pamphlets for which were put in type and plates made in that establishment. (See exhibits marked A, B, C, D, E, F and G, all of which are reduced facsimiles of work done.) (We have innumerable facsimiles but not the cuts—Ed .C. S.)

Under the heading "A Crooked Advertisement," "The Christian Advocate" printed the following editorial on Feb. 23, 1905:

A highly respectable paper in this city publishes one of the most disgraceful advertisements that has been seen for years. It is put out by distillers advertising a whisky "that Lincoln would have commended, because it is square, pure, of the highest type, and a standard." The advertisement counsels everybody to get this "square whiskey" and "celebrate the day on which Abraham Lincoln, a square American, was born."

There is nothing "square" in using the name of Lincoln, who, was a total abstainer, and regarded the liquor traffic with abhorrence. Not "square" but crooked things are usually the methods of rumsellers.

Yet these advertisements were put in type and electrotyped by the employes of the Methodist Book Concern, as were scores of others of a similar character. In fact the amount of printing and electrotyping of this description was enormous. It is unnecessary to say that this work could not have been done without the full knowledge, consent and approval of Revs. Eaton & Mains.

Under the heading "A Scandalous Play Tabooed and Forbidden," "The Christian Advocate" printed the following editorial in its issue of Nov. 9, 1905:

The universal criticism of a vulgar and demoralizing play, followed by the action of the police force in suppressing it, is an interesting event. The author of this play attempted to overcome the criticisms of the Society for the Suppression of Vice by writing considerable billingsgate against its indefatigable secretary, to whose work he applied the new word "Comstockery," but Mr. Comstock gave warning to the manager, who acknowledged it, but expressed his intention to proceed. The Police Commissioner, Mr. McAdoo, attended and made a report to Magistrate Whitman, denouncing the play and giving his reasons. Knowing that the commissioner had seen the play, Mr. Comstock took no further proceedings. He wrote his letter to Mr. Daly defining the law, so that he might have a basis for a vigorous suit, and if the police had not taken the play off the boards he would have obtained the evidence and placed it before the District Attorney. It is Mr. Comstock's opinion that after they had the effrontery to produce the play in spite of his warning, they should be made to pay to the limit of the law, and he cites a precedent. It is a great thing for public morality to know that there is a line which it is not safe to pass, even though it be a long way in the wrong direction from the ideal.

Bernard Shaw's play, "Mrs. Warren's Profession," was suppressed by the police after its first performance in the Garrick Theater. Shortly afterward the **Methodist Book Concern put in type and made the plates for** "The Author's Apology for Mrs. Warren's Profession, by Bernard Shaw, with an Introduction by John Corbin." This introduction was entitled "The Tyranny of Police and Press." In this introduction the New York "Herald" is quoted as saying:

"The play is an insult to decency because—it defends immorality; it glorifies debauchery; it besmirches the sacredness of the clergyman's calling; it pictures children and parents living in calm observance of most unholy relations."

(Here we omit sickening samples of what was printed in this defense.)

And to such uses were put the types which point the way to the straight and narrow path in the "Christian Advocate," "Sunday School Advocate," "Sunday School Classmate," "Sunday School Jornal," "Picture Lesson Paper," "Good Tidings," "Woman's HomeMissions," "World Wide Missions," "Children's Home and Missions," "Methodist Review," "Boys' and Girls' Quarterly," "Senior Quarterly," "Intermediate Quarterly," "Primary Teachers' Quarterly," "Illustrative Quarterly," "Beginners' Quarterly," and the "Home Department Quarterly"!

Can it be possible that the clergy and members of the Methodist Church approve of their printing office doing such work?

For verification of this statement, see the New York "World," Jan. 25, 1906, as follows:

It was admitted yesterday at the office of Eaton & Mains,

(Continued on Page 8)

ITEMS FROM EVERYWHERE

EDITED BY GEO. H. STROBELL

This year's elections are matter of much deeper moment to the Social'st movement than most of our comrades imagine. Let there be a large increase of our vote and some victories, say in Wisconsin, Chicago and Massachusetts, and the gathering middle class reformers will find their way beset, their support invisible, their positions defenseless. The time has come in this country that the only argument they can offer is that "an effective movement in this or that party or independent organization can be productive of immediate results, while the Socialist party does not amount to anything at present, nor will it for years to come." This tacit confession of the fundamental Socialist position today pervades everything political, and we must march along, reach forward to occupy this captured position. Whenever or wherever there is talk of a political reform movement thousands and millions of tracts should be circulated claiming the vantage ground and showing the heft of our principles and the folly of these evanescent movements. There should be only one Socialist political ticket in the field, whether the divisions along party lines be obliterated or remain for a while longer. On the other hand, if we only make our usual effort and poll only a slight increase, with no noticeable victories, we shall see a vast national reformer's army take the field. Of course, I do not mean that such a reformer's movement will be harmful to the ultimate spread of Socialism. It will be an uplift and education for the masses along economic lines and bring to us thousands of voters finally, but I am jealous for growth along right lines and believe that we can now leave our babyhood behind, and enter upon the larger life, the life of power and maturity needed for our work.

SOCIALISTS AT CORNELL.

Ithaca, N. Y., Feb. 28.—John C. Kennedy has been selected as a member of the intercollegiate debate team which is to represent Cornell University against the University of Pennsylvania. Kennedy is a strong and forceful debater and is expected to make a particularly good showing on the question of municipal ownership of street railways, which is to be discussed.

There is a small but influential band of Socialists in Ithaca in which Kennedy, the only junior in the university, is a leading spirit. He has occasioned much comment among his fellow students by his socialistic speeches, which he delivers on the street corners of Ithaca every Saturday night. Last fall he was the Socialist candidate for member of the assembly from this district, even though just past the legal age of assemblyman. Kennedy has a burning conviction in favor of municipal ownership, among other socialistic propaganda.

The greatest series of Socialist meetings ever held in this country were the four meetings arranged for Comrade Jack London, the president of the Inter-collegiate Socialist Society, at which he spoke to some of the largest audiences that ever filled college halls in Harvard, Yale and the Chicago University, and the monster meeting in the Grand Central Palace in New York, which representatives of six great institutions of learning filled to the doors, with an accurately estimated audience of 4,000. About 15,000 pieces of literature were distributed and $250 worth of books and pamphlets sold. These meetings were followed by a perfect flood of inquiries regarding organization, literature, study plans and speakers, which kept Comrade Upton Sinclair, of Princeton, N. J., acting corresponding secretary of the society, busy for a long time. An enthusiastic Socialist student of the New York City College volunteered the information that "We've got them all here, from the janitor to the chancellor." Will not student comrades in the other colleges of the country keep up the good work. Send to Comrade Sinclair for literature, plan of organization and study and get busy.

I am so used to clipping that when I find something good in my reading I reach for my scissors and I came near spoiling a good copy of "The Christian Socialist," all because of something Rufus W. Weeks says in a former number, which you ought to read again. "I never get a copy of The Christian Socialist without being thankful and glad that such a paper—just such a paper—exists. The good it does is past counting." Do you feel that way? Will you get your friend to feel that way? Get him to subscribe. Do something in the subscribing line yourself for others that they may be glad also. Five subscriptions for two dollars.

St. Louis "Labor" says that in an injunction to restrain the printers from winning a strike Judge Sears orders that "Printers shall not even write," and that "the violation of injunctions granted by capitalist judges will soon become a most sacred duty for members of organized labor and true American citizens." There's the usual story of imprisonment by a judge's decree without trial attached, which don't concern the American people, so we will not take up space with it, but things of less importance have before this started revolutions, that is, in other countries and among other races.

The latest census returns show that more than 5,000,000 women are employed in our industrial life, and that there are now three times as many women stenographers as there were ten years ago, while the number of women bookkeepers and accountants has doubled. The number of women engaged in other occupations also snows a corresponding increase.

A citizen of San Jose, Cal., passed away on December 30th, leaving his estate, amounting to $15,000. to be used for the cause of Socialism.

Anything that breaks the voters away from their allegiance to the old parties makes it easier for the Socialists to finally gain them to its ranks. A Populist is an easier fish to catch than a Democrat or a Republican, and a Hearst man is easier than a Populist.—Wilshire's Magazine.

Wilshire's Magazine claims a circulation of 280,200 for the December issue, and gives facsimile receipts from the postoffice in support of the statement. A short time ago the advertising rate was raised from 30 cents to 80 cents a line. Notwithstanding this advance, the February number will carry over 7,000 lines, nearly doubling the amount appearing in January. They are making the capitalist advertisers carry the freight of Socialism to the people.

A Milwaukee, Wis., daily paper did a strange thing the other day. It wanted to find out the true political sentiment of the city. So its reporters interviewed its representative men. Oh, no, that's not the unusual practice of newspapers. The strange thing is that it was not the opinion of the lawyer that was thought needful, nor the banker, nor the "successful business man; there wasn't an officeholder in the list, nor even a clerk. They consulted a journeyman plumber, a journeyman carpenter, a journeyman cigarmaker, etc. Huh! they must be crazy.

The results of the above interviews resulted in a consensus of opinion that may be taken as fairly representative of the hopes of our Milwaukee comrades. They claim that they will elect their entire city ticket and a majority of the aldermen. There are 20,000 organized union men in the city, and according to Comrade Berger, who is quoted in this article, "85 per cent of them are Socialists." Then the good work done in the past few years by elected Socialist officials meets with almost general approval and will exert a most powerful effect in favor of their return. To all of which must be added one thing more, that the Socialists by reason of their previous strength have the right to appoint 190 inspectors and clerks for this election. This is a guarantee that their votes will be counted.

The demonstration for the universal franchise at Berlin on Jan. 21st was a most signal success. Ninety-three meetings were held in all parts of the city and hundreds of thousands of men and women participated, while tens of thousands were unable to gain admittance to the halls.

There was not the slightest disorder, although more than one-fourth of a million people were on the streets, which were partly closed to travel by the police, making it necessary for the populace to use but one side of the streets.

The entire garrison of the city, numbering almost 40,000 men, was mobilized against a possible revolt. Cavalry patrolled the streets, guns were planted at every street intersection and the regiments of infantry were held in readiness in the barracks, with orders to shoot to kill at the slightest provocation. Socialist soldiers vouch for the report, that the officers told the assembled troops that they must shoot straight and not above the heads of the people or the officers would kill them with their revolvers.

Other regiments were kept in their barracks and their arms taken up, in order to prevent them doing mischief in case of riots. These regiments are suspected of being saturated with the Socialist spirit.

In spite of all these gruesome war preparations, everything came off peacefully, thanks to the splendid discipline of the Socialists.

The great awakening of the political labor movement in Great Britain has given a powerful impulse to the agitation in favor of equal suffrage for men and women. The Socialist candidates of both parties and most of the other labor candidates, as well as a few Liberals and Conservatives, were definitely pledged to this measure, and there is some hope of action in the near future.

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the only Tory leader who had some political life left, declared that England had her choice between tariff reform and Socialism and is choosing Socialism.

George Bernhard Shaw entered heartily into the recent campaign in England, and made some great speeches for Social-Democratic candidates. He admitted that the Fabian Society policy had not done the permeating that had been expected of it and that it looked as if the straightout, non-compromising party tactics were the most efficient, after all.

The commission appointed by the senate of Finland to project a reform of the diet has agreed upon the principle of a body to be elected by universal suffrage, both men and women over 21 years of age to vote the suffrage. This body will replace the ancient diet, composed of the four estates—the nobles, the clergy, the burghers and the peasants—the only survival of the ancient form of parliamentary organization now existing.—S. P. Herald.

The first official act of the new Labor party has been to draft an education bill which is to be put forward on behalf of the Trade Union Congress. It advocates secular education and the abolition of religious tests for teachers. State-aided schools are to be provided everywhere by local authority at the Imperial cost. Secondary and technical education also must be furnished by local authority where required. Public medical examination and treatment and one free meal a day are also provisions of the bill.

THE APPROACHING CRISIS IN GERMANY

Germany, as well as Russia, seems to be a storm-center. The Socialist movement is steadily growing and the masses are becoming impatient in face of the reactionary measures by which their peaceful methods are being rendered futile.

While manhood suffrage prevails in elections for the Reichstag or imperial parliament, the right to vote for members of the Landtags, or state legislatures, and of city councils is, in most cases, very restricted.

A few years ago Saxony adopted a system similar to the three-class election law of Prussia. This was avowedly done to shut out the Social Democrats. With equal suffrage we should now have an overwhelming majority in the Saxon Landtag; as it is, we have not one member.

Now Hamburg is trying the same plan. Even the existing law is very unjust. At the last general election our party cast 100,000 votes there, out of a total of 160,000, but he have only 13 members in a Council numbering 160. But even so, the ruling classes took alarm and now they seek to establish a three-class system under which the majority of the people—those having incomes of less than $625 a year—could never elect more than 24 of the 160 Councillors.

The Social Democratic Party is beginning a gigantic agitation for universal suffrage in all elections. At Hamburg and in some Saxon cities there have already been a few encounters with the police. In Berlin, last Sunday, the police were wise enough to keep very quiet. German movements go slowly, but they have a great momentum. Just how the crisis will come, no one pretends to say. But there is a feeling that it cannot be far off, and that when it comes, it will have an effect reaching far beyond the frontiers of the German Empire.—The Worker.

D. M. Parry, at New Orleans, two or three years ago, at a meeting of the National Manufacturers' association boasted that hereafter the United States labor bureau would be used "to get business for capitalists and not to furnish statistics for agitators." The recent order of the president cutting off the expenditures for public printing—the books and pamphlets which heretofore have been furnished free to the people—indicates that Mr. Parry knew whereof he was talking.—Appeal to Reason.

"Do not pray for easy lives! Pray to be stronger men! Do not pray for tasks equal to your powers! Pray for powers equal to your tasks."—Phillips Brooks.

A benevolent person watched a workman laboriously windlassing rock from a shaft while a broiling sun was beating down on his bared head.

"My dear man," observed the onlooker, "are you not afraid that your brain will be affected in the hot sun?"

The laborer contemplated him for a moment and then replied:

"Do you think a man with any brains would be working at this kind of a job?"

NEGROES HEAR THE GOOD NEWS

Comrade W. A. Arnold, our Milwaukee candidate for mayor, has consented to address the congregation of St. Mark's A. M. E. church, corner of Fourth and Cedar streets at the Sunday evening service, tomorrow, on the topic "What Social Democracy Really Means." A large attendance is assured and Comrade Rrnold will show how he naturally passed from the movement to free the chattel slave to the movement to free wage slaves.—Social Democratic Herald.

DESERTS MILITARISM.

Colonel Marchand, of Fashoda fame, has renounced his military ideas and ambitions at the age of forty-two, turned Socialist and announced he will stand as a candidate for the chamber of deputies at the general elections in April. Marchand's action has created such a furore that it has become the talk of all France, says a press dispatch from Paris. Marchand will stand for election in one of the divisions in Paris, and there's every probability his candidacy will be successful. Marchand's conversion to Socialism follows a period of relative inactivity and growth of sentiment of anti-militarism in France.

Trend of the Social Movement

BY GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

The relations of socialism and anarchism often puzzle the student as well as the politician and newspaper writer. To a degree their criticism of the existing social order arises from the same causes and tends to the same results. What they propose to substitute is in many respects the same, at least on a superficial survey of it. What is often overlooked is that their point of view is radically different, that their conceptions of the relation of the individual and society are fundamentally antagonistic, and that what they are seeking to accomplish has only a merely outward resemblance. The anarchist seeks for absolute individual freedom, emphasizes personal rights, and wishes to get rid of all government. On the other hand, the socialist recognizes society as the chief social force, seeks to make it a means of co-operative help for all, insists that all natural rescources should be under the control of the community, and has as his ideal the realization of a universal spirit of brotherhood.

One reason why so many persons mistake socialism for anarchism is that they began together in the revolutionary movement of the eighteenth century, and for a considerable time worked in the same organizations, and united their forces to the same ends. Gradually the two theories were differentiated, took antagonistic courses and have developed a theory of life and society quite opposed to each other. To the intelligent socialist it is no longer necessary to appeal for a recognition of this distinction of attitude and purpose. The socialist movement has no more implacable enemy than the philosophical anarchist. A little book on "Josiah Warren, the First American Anarchist, a Sociological Study," by William Bailie (Boston, Small, Maynard & Co., $1.00) will enable any thinking person fully to realize wherein the two theories separate and oppose each other. Mr. Bailie is an Englishman, a friend of and co-worker with William Morris for a few of the last years of that great socialist's life; but he was drawn into anarchism, and in his book he defends it with intelligence and marked skill. He is at the head of a basket manufactory in Boston, but he is much more than a manufacturer or a business man, being a keen thinker, something of a political economist and an ardent theorizer along social lines.

Josiah Warren was a practical man, the inventor of stereotyping, a skilled musician, an organizer of communistic societies, and a devoted lover of his kind. He came under the influence of Robert Owen, was a member of the New Harmony Community, but could not accept Owen's socialistic theories and methods. He started an "equity store" in Cincinnati, from which all goods were sold at cost; and he opened such stores in New York, Boston and elsewhere. He founded a communistic village at Utopia, in the neighborhood of Cincinnati, and another on Long Island, which was called Modern Times In these villages full individual freedom was secured, and each person was permitted to act and believe in his own way, no use being made of law or coercion in any form. Each person was expected to recognize the rights of others, and to control his own conduct with reference to the common good. This principle seems to have worked fairly well, but it did not secure the perpetuity of the communities founded by Warren, as more distinctly socialistic methods did not secure the permanence of New Harmony or Brook Farm.

Warren was an anarchist communist, and his chief principle was that of the sovereignty of the individual. He was opposed to all kinds of social subordination of the individual by means of organized control, wished not only to abolish the police and armies, but to get rid of legislatures and the state. To his mind the individual can manage his own interests in the best possible manner, not only in a business way, but as relates to conduct and ethics. He accepted, as most anarchists do, the theory of cost as based on labor, the abolition of interest, rent and profit, and that money should be the paper representative of land or other real estate.

It need not be said that Josiah Warren was not a great man or a great thinker. He wrote little, left but a vague memory behind him, and his biographer has been able to tell his story only in the briefest and most meager fashion. He was a native of New England, the intensely individualistic spirit of which region he inherited, and which he clumsily worked out into a theory of anarchism and a practice of communism. Mr. Bailie's book about him is written in excellent spirit, and is most interesting as giving the life-history of a free spirit, one who dared think in his own way and live his own life. It deserves to be placed by the side of the other works telling of attempts at securing a reformed society on the part of small groups of men and women, and is one of the best of them all.

What is of most interest in the story of Josiah Warren is that it exemplifies an attempt to carry out the "American spirit" to its logical issues. Here is a man who saw the deepest meanings of our demand for individual freedom, initiative and self reliance, and had the courage to apply them to his own conduct. In this respect his life is most worthy of a careful study. Every socialist ought to read this book in order that he may rightly understand his own proposals for the reorganization of society. Unless he has correctly and scientifically apprehended what are the relations of the individual and society, how they supplement and complement each other, what it is the function of society to furnish the life of man, and what it is the individual gives of initiative and genius, he is quite in the wilderness with his program of co-operative commonwealth.

The best part of Mr. Bailie's book is his opening chapter on "the anarchist spirit," and his concluding one on "Warren's place as a social philosopher." They admirably sum up the intent and method of philosophical anarchism. He clearly defines what the anarchist stands for in the world of social theory, whether it is Tolstoy, Kropotkin, Nietzsche, Spencer, Bailie or some other who speaks to us. "Anarchism is not a cult, nor a party, nor an organization." "Modern Anarchism, in a word, is primarily a tendency—moral, social, and intellectual. As a tendency it questions the supremacy of the State, the infallibility of Statute laws, and the divine right of all authority, spiritual or temporal. It is, in truth, a product of authority, the progeny of the State, a direct consequence of the inadequacy of law and government to fulfill their assumed functions. In short, the Anarchist tendency is a necessity of progress, a protest against usurpation, privilege, and injustice." "It is this widespread intellectual influence, overleaping national boundaries, uniting in common aims and sympathies men of alien race, that constitute the real and irresistible Anarchist spirit."

In so far as Mr. Bailie discovers anarchism to be anything more definite than an intellectual tendency he basis it on a vague conception of economic causes. "The State," he says, "in the beginning was an outgrowth of property, and as the institution of property developed among men government became a necessity for the proprietors." Such a conclusion is superficial in the extreme, not only from the philosophical point of view, but as interpreting the facts made known by ethnology and sociology. The state was not created by property, nor was it the result of economic necessity. It was not because men were obliged to eat, to find clothing, and to seek shelter, that they joined themselves together to form society or to organize themselves into the state. The anarchist or the socialist who finds nothing deeper or more essential in the state than "economic determinism" misses the mark in every attempt he makes to explain the beginnings of property, the state, and civilization.

When men first became conscious of the idea of the state, and felt it to be a necessity, it already existed. It was not forced upon men, but was a natural result of their social nature. Men have never existed without the state, and there is nothing definite to indicate that they ever will exist without it. The reasons why it exists is psycological, not economic. It grows out of "the consciousness of kind," because men are a necessity to each other, because the social instinct is the most powerful operating in human nature. As Kropotkin has shown in the most fascinating and convincing manner, in the animal world social needs began, and operated in the most effective way to bind together great herds for self-protection and mutual aid. From some of the weaker animals, developed by means of community life, there came mental and social advance, resulting in the evolution of man. As a result, man in the beginning inherited the effects of countless generations of social life in the animal world. There is no evidence whatever that man ever existed in the individualistic stage about which some of the anthropologists write.

Therefore, from the very beginning of his existence man has lived as a social being, and under some form of the state. The state existed for tens of thousands of years, in all probability, before private property was evolved. *At the basis of the state is the fact of sex, the weakness of childhood, the instinctive social needs* of all but abnormal men, and *the inherent moral demand* which binds men together for the common good. These are the social causes which developed man out of the animal, lifted him above savagery, and are demanding that he shall pass out of the private possession of public utilities to a life of developed co-operation and fellowship. The real demand of this time is not for the abolition of the state, but for its perfection in mutual aid, the assuring to every individual the opportunity which will make the most of his personality for himself and for the community, which will bring the capacities of all to the aid of every individual, as well as the powers of every person to the supreme ..... of the advancement of the interests of the state.

VESPER SONG

By EDWIN ARNOLD ERENHOLTZ.

At sunset, hark! I sing:
Away, afar I fling
Disabling woe.
Estop me not; I go
Beyond this flesh, far, far afield;
Beyond this grief that will not yield;
Beyond, to what is there revealed,—
God wills it so!

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